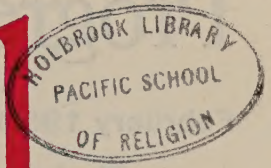


FEBRUARY 1959



Social Progress



The Church and Labor

Social Progress

Published by the Department of Social Education and Action of the Board of Christian Education of The United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America to provide a forum for the church on subjects of social concern for Christians. It includes program resources, legislative developments, and guides to worship, study, and action for leaders of social action groups in local churches, presbyteries, synods, presbyterial and synodical societies. Articles represent the opinions of the authors.

February 1959

Vol. XLIX, No. 5

The Labor Saga 1806-1958	4
The Goals of Labor	14
United Presbyterians and Organized Labor	18
Labor's Problems	24
Worship Resources	
A House Service of Prayer and Meditation.....	28
Program Pointers	32
What's Happening	
In the Churches.....	35
In Washington	38
About Books	39
Echoes	43
Events	47

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SOCIAL PROGRESS is published monthly, except January, May, August, and September, by the Department of Social Education and Action of the Board of Christian Education of The United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, 1009 Sloan St., Crawfordsville, Ind. Second-class postage paid at Crawfordsville, Ind. Undeliverable copies should be returned to the same address.

Subscriptions, \$2.00 a year; three years for \$5.00. Single copy, 25 cents. Group rates on request. Send subscriptions to 830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Notices of changes of address and other mail items should be sent to the editorial and executive office, 830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pa. Copyright, 1959, by the Board of Christian Education of The United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. Printed in the U.S.A.

From This Vantage Point

IN THE FOLLOWING PAGES we attempt to outline the history, the goals, and some of the problems of organized labor in the United States—subjects on which many church members need to be educated. An article on the church and labor contrasts (1) the prevailing attitudes of Presbyterians toward unions and (2) the declarations of the General Assembly.



With this issue, *SOCIAL PROGRESS* becomes virtually a new and, we hope, an improved magazine. Its purpose is to interpret the church's role in the social order, to point the way to faithful response to God's action in the life of our day.

A number of new sections appear for the first time—program pointers, letters from readers, what's happening on the SEA front, worship resources, books, coming events.

Editorial responsibilities are shared by all members of the SEA staff in Philadelphia. Special art work (note the front and back covers) is provided by Tom (Rev. Thomas C.) Arthur, of Greengfield, Indiana.

—*The SEA Staff*

THE LABOR SAGA

1806 – 1958

IT IS a curious *non-sequitur* of American history that a nation which was conceived in a revolution against political and economic tyranny and which developed the world's most stable democratic institutions would have been so hostile to the development of the trade union movement.

Not only have unions in the course of their struggle for recognition had to join battle with individual employers and their hired squads of Pinkerton agents and strikebreakers, but they have waged a continuing battle against adverse opinion in the public mind. The college-educated, white-collar, church-going segment of the American middle class has traditionally identified itself with that rather dubious tenet of classical economics which holds that if a man is given the right to manage his business as he pleases, the more happy, healthy, and well fed everyone will be.

It is only since the mid-thirties that respectable public opinion in the United States, led by the policy of the Federal Government and the cautious social concern of church

leadership that abandoned its earlier idealism under the impact of war and depression, accepted the fact that unions are here to stay and that they have a legitimate right to organize, bargain, and to strike.

Still More to Learn

The process of education is by no means completed. Generally speaking, the man or woman in the pew of the typical, orthodox middle-class Protestant church looks with suspicion upon the labor movement, its political philosophy and its social and economic aspirations. The opinion of one coal operator during the anthracite strike of 1902 has been and may still be the underlying tenor of church opinion: "The rights and interests of the laboring man will be protected and cared for, not by the labor agitators, but by the Christian men to whom God in his infinite wisdom has given control of the property interests of the country."

The increased complexity of union organization, the diversity of structures, jurisdictional and legal arrangements, the increased complexity of industrial society and the sep-

aration of its mode of life from that of the professional office, the home, and the church have all helped to alienate the trade union movement from the middle-class public mind. The public tends to fear what it does not understand. Add to this the damage done to the public relations of organized labor by the Becks, Hoffas, and Dios. The result is a mounting fear that here is a movement which stands for narrow special interests, which is controlled by and for cynical, vulgar men, which is clannish, unrestricted, and powerfully influential in public affairs to the inevitable detriment of the individualistic, uncontroversial, and respectable American way of life.

Birth of the Labor Movement

It was in this kind of climate of opinion that the American labor movement was born. In 1806 eight shoemakers in Philadelphia who had organized and struck for higher wages were tried by the courts and convicted of "criminal conspiracy." This was the famous Cordwainers Case which was the first of some sixteen cases in which the doctrine of criminal conspiracy was pronounced against the attempt of workers to combine their efforts to seek wage raises.

It was not until 1842 that the courts ceased to rule that although it was legal for an individual worker to risk his job by asking for a raise, if he joined with others in the same shop and refused to work, he was guilty of conspiracy and subject to imprisonment. In that year Chief Justice Lemuel Shaw in the Commonwealth vs. Hunt case in Massachusetts reasoned that the Boston shoe-

makers accused of criminal conspiracy were attempting to require by means of a closed shop conformity to certain standards of work and that the prosecutor had not established that this purpose was unlawful.

Legal opposition to union organization and strikes continued under the doctrines of civil conspiracy and illegal purposes throughout most of the nineteenth century. It was now the aggrieved employer whose property interests were threatened by union demands who initiated legal action against the union and was powerfully aided by the imposition of the labor injunction which restrained both organization and picketing.

These legal obstructions to trade unionism in the early days were based on the assumption that the objectives and purposes of unions were basically inimical to the interest of individuals and to the community at large. The average or standard wage in a particular craft or occupation was considered normative for all workers in that category, and they were obliged to work at this prescribed rate. If they did not agree that the rate was fair, they should not have taken the job in the first place or they could, as individuals, quit and seek other employment. The untrammelled individualism of the American people, its civil government and its judiciary, looked with alarm and disfavor upon the attempt of some of its citizens to band themselves in separate organizations demanding economic privileges that had not been voluntarily conferred upon them as "deserving individuals."

Despite the opposition of the law

and of public opinion generally, workers found it necessary to organize against the low wages and long hours of work in the rapidly expanding industrial society that was developing in the mid-nineteenth century. With the great European immigration that began in the 1840's a tremendous supply of cheap labor was available to the industrial Northeast. The factory system and the regional market replacing the earlier system of home craftsmanship and local markets created a rapid growth in industrial economy with the attendant problems of unsafe and unhealthy conditions of work, slum housing, child labor, poverty, and imprisonment for debt.

Although printers in Philadelphia struck for a minimum wage of \$6 a week as early as 1786, it was not until 1827 that a labor movement was formed that included workers in different trades united into one central labor organization. The Mechanics Union of Trade Associations of Philadelphia consisted of various local unions and marked the beginning of a sense of the need for solidarity and strength among working people to prevent economic and political exploitation.

Following 1827 labor unions began to spring up in many trades and industries. Trade union federations became politically active in New York, Boston, and other cities of the North.

Distrust

There is no question but that the symbolism, secrecy, and ethnic character of the early movements helped to make unionism suspect of a philosophy dominated by "foreign ele-

ments" and a *modus operandi* out of step with American democratic process. The mixture of quasi-religious, socialistic, and fraternal elements in the early trade union organizations is indicative of the deep emotional and idealistic roots out of which sprang the sophisticated industrial unions of later years. But it was precisely this ideological and romantic quality of the trade union movement which made many God-fearing, respectable citizens fear its potential influence in a free-enterprise, capitalistic economy. These early fears have hardened into the distrust of organized labor that still characterizes a large segment of white-collar and professional people today.

One of the earliest organizations of this type was the Knights of Labor, founded in 1869. The Knights, organized originally by a group of Philadelphia tailors, became labor's most powerful weapon against the great railroad magnates of the 1880's. Until that period it operated as a secret organization for workers in a variety of trades, meeting in the homes of workers and encouraging co-operatives, political action, and boycotts against employers whose policies they considered unfair.

After 1880 the Knights of Labor ended its underground activity, which had been severely criticized as dangerous and subversive, and by 1886 had organized openly more than 700,000 workers. After 1886 it began to decline rapidly as a consequence of poor organization and leadership and the bad public relations that resulted from the disastrous Haymarket Riot in Chicago when a bomb was thrown into the

midst of a group of policemen resulting in the death of seven men and injury to several others. The court action taken against the workers condemned seven leaders to death and one to life imprisonment. Four were finally hanged, and three received jail sentences.

Against the massive opposition of industry, the courts, and public opinion the unions developed a psychological mixture of inferiority and aggressiveness—a sense of being separate, embattled, and called to suffer social ostracism, the loss of civil rights, of economic security, and even of life itself. Thus went the struggle to establish the right to exist as one institution among the many necessary for political democracy in a world where without power, as well as vision, the people perish.

The AFL

During the rapid demise of the Knights of Labor during the last quarter of the nineteenth century a new concept of labor organization emerged from the craftworkers. These skilled workers were in a particularly favorable bargaining position compared with unskilled workers. Under the leadership of Samuel Gompers, one of the great pioneers of the labor movement in this country, the cigar makers, carpenters, printers, and iron workers brought their autonomous unions into a new federation of national organizations called the American Federation of Labor.

Gompers believed that the Knights of Labor were “purely sentimental and bereft of all practical thought and action.” What was needed was a nationwide labor movement that was

less concerned with camaraderie in the working class and more concerned about concrete issues of wages and better working conditions through realistic collective bargaining.

To pursue these objectives Gompers became the first president of the AFL (then the Federation of Organized Trades Unions of the United States and Canada) in 1881 and served in that capacity, except for one year, until his death in 1924.

The AFL was much better suited to the new realities of the American industrial scene. In contrast to the local unions and the city central bodies, the national unions and the AFL under the leadership of men like Gompers and Adolph Strasser were able to give the labor movement stability and continuity in both the United States and Canada. The period of utopianism and general reform was over, and the labor movement settled down to do business with employers on the immediate, practical concerns of the workingman, wages, hours, conditions of work, and security against unemployment, sickness, and old age.

Another early pioneer of international trade unionism was Eugene V. Debs who led the American Railway Union in the spectacular strike against the Pullman Company. Debs, a man of passionate social concern, recognized the strategic importance of the railroads and as a leader of the Socialist Party was convinced that nothing less than a display of labor's power at the heart of the national industrial economy could free the working class from the oppression of “robber barons of industry.”

Debs's American Railway Union called a sympathy strike in behalf of the employees of the Pullman Parlor Car Company, who struck against a drastic wage reduction in May, 1844. The strike paralyzed the Midwest, and Federal troops were sent to Chicago to enforce a court injunction ordering the union leaders to "cease and desist." Debs and other officials were sent to prison for refusal to comply with the court order, and a national controversy was precipitated with many leaders urging Gompers and the AFL to initiate a general strike.

The failure of the AFL to enter the strike and throw the strength of some 270,000 craftsmen behind the efforts of the railroad workers made many people suspect that the Federation was not courageous enough to merit leadership for the organization of the masses of industrial workers.

Certainly Samuel Gompers lacked the broad vision wedded to political astuteness that characterized Eugene V. Debs. The years following the Civil War had brought a severe depression and unemployment. General harassment of the unions by black lists, Pinkerton police, and strike injunctions made the course clear. As Debs believed, either the unions would have to take political action and challenge the hostility of the Federal Government or be systematically destroyed.

The Sherman Act Threat

One of the principal weapons against the unions during this period was the Sherman Antitrust Act. Originally conceived in 1890, as a measure to discourage the monopolistic practices of large-scale corporations,

it was later used against the unions. The hatters union of Danbury, Connecticut, was fined \$210,000 under the Sherman Act for organizing a nationwide boycott in sympathy with their cause. In 1922 the Act was interpreted as ruling out the right of a union to strike when, as in the case of the United Mine Workers vs. the Coronado Coal Company in Arkansas, such action was an intentional conspiracy to restrain the movement of interstate commerce.

It was the clear testimony of the Haymarket Riot of 1886, the Homestead Strike of 1892 when National Guardsmen melted the lines of the steel workers, and the Pullman Strike two years later, that when the law arrives in the case of labor trouble it is first applied *against* the unions.

Struggle for Survival

The period from the Civil War to the First World War was one of a desperate struggle of unions for room in which to live. Although the worker's economic condition improved with declining prices and a reduction in the average workday from 11 hours in 1865 to 10 hours in 1900, the general climate of the country was against the labor union. The employers for the most part were in rigid opposition to unionization and used the black list and the "yellow dog" contract to prevent it. And well into the 1920's despite amendments to the Clayton Act and other piecemeal legislation, a formidable corpus of law, both common and statutory, maintained a restrictive vigil over unions which sought to express their grievances by overt action.

During World War I, which

brought both voluntary and imposed emergency restrictions against organizing and strikes, many employers refused to recognize unions that had been organized in their plants, and the hard-won gains of the past rapidly deteriorated. After the war, from 1920 to 1923 union membership declined from about five million to three and one-half million, and during the prosperous years before the crash of 1929 there was little or no growth. The tragic depression that followed further decimated the ranks of labor. Of the 105 AFL international and national unions in 1929, only 44 were able to maintain or enlarge their membership after 1925. By 1932 there were less than 3¼ million members in all American labor unions. The AFL, hardly able to hold its own, was unable to organize the rapidly growing mass-production industries.

Taking advantage of the divisive and weak posture of organized labor during the postwar period, many corporations organized "company unions," which had no outside affiliation and were usually sponsored and controlled by the employer. These paternalistic unions numbered about two million workers and posed a continuing threat to a free and independent trade union movement.

The Right to Bargain

In 1932 the Roosevelt era began a tremendous revival of hope in the ranks of labor. The Federal Government commenced a major shift in its generally antiunion policy. In 1932 the passage of the Norris-La Guardia Act limited the use of the damaging court injunction. In 1933 the National Industrial Recovery Act in-

cluded the famous section 7 (a) which guaranteed the right to organize and to bargain collectively. In 1935 Congress passed the National Labor Relations Act (Wagner Act), which Samuel Gompers, for all his distrust of Government intervention, would have recognized as the real "Magna Charta" of the workingman. The new act established the equality of bargaining power between employers and employees by forbidding the employer to (1) interfere with, restrain, or coerce employees in their right to collective bargaining; (2) refuse to bargain collectively, and (3) dominate or interfere with a labor organization or organize a company union. A National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) was established to enforce the act, and during its first five years handled more than 20,000 complaints with only 20 cases of litigation reaching the level of the Supreme Court. Out of that number, 18 were upheld by the Court.

The moral and administrative support given by the New Deal to the labor movement not only encouraged the unions to redouble their organizing activity, but what was equally important to the future of American labor, it began slowly to make unions more acceptable to the public. The Senate Committee on Civil Liberties, headed by Robert M. LaFollette, produced over seventy volumes of hearings that exposed to the public view the subversion and terrorism used by the corporations to destroy organized labor. In these days of renewed efforts to restrict legitimate union activity it is unfortunate that that record is so largely forgotten by most people and so completely unknown to the present generation of young

men and women moving into American business and industry.

The CIO

It was the same year of the enactment of the Wagner Act that the old desire of some of the AFL members to organize industrial unions broke out in an open struggle within the Federation. On November 10, 1935, eight leading unions formed a Committee for Industrial Organization to extend unionism to mass-production workers across various kinds of skills and trades in any one industry. The jurisdictional claims of the craft unions were thereby threatened, and the CIO (later Congress of Industrial Organizations) was suspended from the AFL in 1936.

A period of bitter struggle for the right to organize mass-production workers along craft union or industrial union lines was thus inaugurated. Rioting and bitterness between the two groups continued through the Second World War and have not ceased to be a factor in the present uneasy alliance of the AFL-CIO.

The CIO made tremendous gains in its organization of such industries as steel, automobile, rubber, textile, and aluminum. At its first constitutional convention in 1938 it was reorganized as a loose federation of nine national unions and thirty-two "organizing committees," which were the core groups for reaching the mass-production industries. John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers, was elected as its first president.

The Labor Movement Flourishes

The labor movement made its "great leap ahead" with the develop-

ment of unions in the basic industries of the United States and by 1941 union membership totaled between ten and eleven million workers—more than double the membership in 1938.

It was, however, the period of 1941 to 1945 that established the labor unions as the respected and powerful allies of management and government in the great effort to increase production, hold down strikes, and help organize the economy for winning the war with Germany and Japan. After Pearl Harbor the National War Labor Board was established as a watchdog program to prevent industrial disputes from undercutting the war effort. Labor was represented on all the regional boards.

The great production needs, the governmental activity of labor leaders, the development of "fringe benefits" (holiday, vacation pay, welfare, and pension plans, etc.) during the wage stabilization program, the increase of women workers, and the new employment opportunities open to Negroes under President Roosevelt's Executive Order 8802 all helped to increase union membership and to give labor a firm footing for the struggle to come in the postwar readjustment.

From 1940-1945 the labor force increased from 54 million to 64 million workers providing a tremendous pool for union membership under the union security provisions established by the Wagner Act of 1935. Although few national unions were created during the war years, collective bargaining agreements were widely extended throughout the nation, and union leaders like William

Green, of the AFL, Philip Murray and Sidney Hillman, of the CIO, were symbolic of labor's new status as a partner in national economic policy-making.

Strife Again

V-J Day in August, 1945, brought to an abrupt end the honeymoon with management, which, with the help of the Federal Government, had been sustained during the war years. The U.S. Department of Labor reports that there were forty-two major strikes, each involving 10,000 or more workers, between the end of the war with Japan in August, 1945, and the end of war-emergency price control regulations. The expiration of the OPA in June, 1946, permitted management more freedom to grant wage increases that the unions had demanded after President Truman brought the control policy to an end on August 18, 1945.

The revival of "free" collective bargaining did not bring peaceful industrial relations. As labor had warned, the end of price controls caused a surge in the cost of living and resulted in a demand for wage increases. The year 1946 was the most turbulent year in the history of the American labor movement with a record number of 4,700 strikes involving 4,750,000 workers. Despite the resistance of employers, workers in the mass-production industries gained during this year "package" increases estimated to be worth about 15 cents an hour, including the value of fringe benefits.

The inflationary spiral was in process. With prices mounting to offset the yearly wage increases, the unions, despite their claim that prof-

its were still more than adequate, took most of the public blame for the work stoppages and the rising cost of living. By December, 1947, the cost for the urban worker averaged 30 per cent higher than on V-J Day. The result was wide disaffection with unions, especially among those who were not receiving the direct benefits of protective labor contracts and who were personally inconvenienced by the numerous strikes. Although labor continued to grow numerically and in bargaining strength, its public relations again suffered as it fought to prevent the relaxation of wartime controls from dissolving the economic gains made during the years of "prosperity."

Restrictive Legislation

The generally unfavorable atmosphere that surrounded organized labor during the immediate postwar period erupted into restrictive legislative action by the Republican Congress that took over Capitol Hill in the fall elections of 1946. This action was encouraged by management's contention that modern-day unions were so large and economically powerful that only restrictive legislation which recognized "unfair labor practices" on the part of unions would make true collective bargaining possible for the management side.

Certain restrictive bills had already been passed by the Democrats in 1946, but with passage over Truman's veto of the Labor Management Act of 1947 (Taft-Hartley) the generally favorable posture of the Federal Government set by the old Wagner Act shifted to one of unbending opposition to certain basic union practices.

The closed shop and secondary boycotts were banned; other arrangements such as the union shop, checkoff (by which union dues are withheld from the pay envelope and paid into the union treasury by the employer), welfare funds, grievance, and contract procedures were restricted or regulated by law.

A list of "unfair labor practices," which made certain union activities illegal, was incorporated in the Taft-Hartley Act. These had to do with organizing campaigns, dues, and initiation fees, featherbedding (compelling wages for services not actually rendered), and striking at the time of the expiration of a labor contract. Also written into the law were regulations regarding strikes in which the national interest is imperiled. One hotly disputed provision of the new law, Section 14, paragraph (b), held that "Nothing in this Act shall be contrived as authorizing . . . agreements requiring membership in a labor organization as a condition of employment in any State or Territory in which such execution or application is prohibited by State or Territorial law."

Right-to-Work Laws

The immediate result of this policy was the enactment in nineteen states of right-to-work laws, which prohibited the union shop and other "maintenance of membership" agreements between management and the unions. The threat to union security that these laws posed in the hands of those who wanted to destroy unions caused a flurry of political activity in the Congressional elections of 1958 with labor successfully defeating right-to-work candidates in the

key states of California and Ohio.

Despite pledges from both Republican and Democratic Congressmen organized labor was not able to achieve amendment of the most objectionable features of the Labor Management Relations Act of 1947. Indeed enthusiasm among both labor leaders and the rank and file to rid organized labor of this legislative curb on its activity waned during the relatively high employment and prosperous years of the Eisenhower Administration.

In the postwar period both the AFL and CIO attacked vigorously the problem of communism in the labor movement. It should be noted that the unions were largely purged of radicalism before the rise of McCarthyism.

Between 1949 and 1956 there was an unprecedented number of strikes as the unions fought to offset the effects of inflation. In the South where antiunion feeling runs high there were some bitter struggles and setbacks in the CIO organizing campaign, but the violence of the earlier days was, for the most part, absent from the industrial disputes of the fifties. Most contracts were negotiated without a serious loss of man-hours despite the fact that of about 125,000 agreements, more than 70,000 were reviewed annually. Management and the unions worked peacefully together in many communities. In some cases the unions lent money to employers to expand plant facilities, build new factories, and stave off bankruptcy.

Two Groups Unite

On December 5, 1955, the twenty-year split between the American Fed-

eration of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations was healed by the fusion of these two great federated groups into the AFL-CIO. George Meany, who had succeeded William Green as president of the AFL in 1952, became the president of the new united federation. Meany had initiated the merger discussions and had been a leader in the fight against communist elements in the labor movement on the national and international front. Working with equal zeal for merger and for the elimination of radicalism was the courageous and colorful president of the CIO, Walter P. Reuther, who then became the head of the Industrial Union department of the new AFL-CIO.

The merger convention in December, 1955, seated 103 AFL and 30 CIO unions and two CIO organizing committees. Some 60,000 local unions affiliated to national unions and about 1,000 local unions directly affiliated to the federation form the organizational base of the AFL-CIO. These local unions were expected to merge their city and state central groups, which held membership in the old AFL and CIO, by December, 1957. In some cases a multitude of organizational and jurisdictional problems accompanied mergers on the city and state level, which were continuing in 1958.

In addition to six trade departments (Building Trades, Railway, Metal, Maritime, Union Label, and Industrial Unions) the AFL-CIO has committees that deal with legislation, political education, international affairs, civil liberties, and many other aspects of civic and cultural concern for the American so-

ciety. During the protracted hearings on corruption in labor and management held by the McClellan Committee in 1958, the Ethical Practices Committee came into national prominence by setting the stage for the expulsion of gangster-infested unions, including the million-member International Brotherhood of Teamsters.

Across the country prophecies of fear and gloom were raised at the spectacle of a new united labor movement. Cries of "labor monopoly" and "political influence" warned of the possibilities for evil that were potential in the new size and centralization that labor achieved in the reunion. Certainly a new concentration of power means new possibilities for aggrandizement and manipulation, but it is doubtful that the AFL-CIO will ever have the control over its member unions that is prerequisite for an effective instrument of tyranny. Moreover, there is little credence in the claim that the aspiration of men like Reuther and Meany is to subvert American democratic institutions and the system of free enterprise. The labor movement has come of age in the United States, and the old dreams of a national labor party motivated by a communist or socialist ideology no longer impel the leadership of the great national unions or those who hold the reins of the merged federation.

The struggle with radicalism, the shocking reprisal against labor columnist Victor Reisel, the scandals that surrounded the handling of welfare funds, and the antics of individual officials like Beck and Hoffa have undoubtedly injured the prestige of the new federation. Church

and civic leaders have deplored these evidences of violence and corruption in the labor movement, but no more assiduously than the respected leaders of the AFL-CIO themselves.

Many church people know little about the world of industry. They know even less about the subtleties of maintaining a union against the pressures of increased organizational complexity, apathy, opportunistic racketeering, and antiunion employers. Yet, these church members are the socially sensitive, civic-minded persons in the typical American community who can do most to help the labor movement clean its house and at the same time protect itself against those interests which are unquali-

fiedly opposed to social democracy and economic equality with the working class.

The future of the American labor movement with its widening concern to be a socially responsible partner not only with management but with the community, is closely bound to the future of the American churches as they rediscover their cultural role in a revolutionary world. Perhaps a first step for the churches is to help their own people recall the way by which the unions have come into their maturity and perceive not only the dangers therein but the tremendous opportunities for justice and social welfare for all Americans and for people everywhere.

The Goals of Labor

AN UNDERSTANDING of what the workingman really wants would seem to be a *must* for the employer who desires good relations with the people he employs. In case after case friction and conflict between labor and management have been aggravated by the employer's failure to appreciate the true goals of the hourly rate worker.

It is important also for the man on the side lines, Mr. John Q. Public, to be aware of what labor wants if he is to interpret at all correctly the workers' side in a time of labor dispute. Criticisms of labor's actions often reveal a conspicuous ignorance of the workers' motives.

As to the churches, if they are to be at all effective in reaching workingmen and their families, or at all relevant in speaking to the issues of labor-management relations, nothing is more essential than an understanding of the goals of labor.

The trouble is that relatively little serious attention has been given to the question of what the worker really wants in his job. One would expect the labor union leader to be

helpful here, but he is usually so preoccupied either with pressing union business (if he is a national or regional officer) or with the daily problems of the men he serves (if he is a

local union agent) that he is a poor interpreter of the worker's most deeply felt desires.

A number of studies have been made, however, which combine to offer a few clues to what is going on in the average workingman's mind. An interpretation of some of these studies was presented nearly a decade ago by the Twentieth Century Fund in a prophetic volume, *Partners in Production: A Basis for Labor-Management Understanding*. This book's broad findings relating to labor's goals are supported by several more recently published studies.

In talking about the goals of labor, we mean the workers who make up the labor movement—what they really want by way of on-the-job satisfactions. These may be summarized under four headings: security, opportunity, recognition, and dignity.

Security

The efforts of American labor to achieve such protections as pension, medical insurance, job tenure based on seniority, and other employment and income guarantees emphasize the importance of security to the workingman. Indeed, surveys reveal again and again that for most workers job security is a higher goal than immediate monetary gain.

The modern industrial worker feels the precariousness of his position. He may possess certain valuable skills, but he does not own the tools or means by which his skills are put to use. Only the weekly pay envelope stands between him and calamity. His besetting fear is unemployment. He remembers periods of idleness through which he and his family, or

his friends and their families, have endured incredible hardships.

The worker's first and major defense against job insecurity has been the labor union. The organized worker looks upon his union as the most important safeguard against the hazards and uncertainties of modern industrial employment.

Here is the secret, so baffling to many employers, of the worker's loyalty to his union. The industrial worker often identifies his own security so completely with the labor union to which he belongs that he will subordinate his own personal interests to those of the union. Workers will strike for weeks and months over a matter of a few cents an hour, knowing that even though they win the strike it will take years of full employment to recoup their losses, if they believe that the integrity and prestige of their union is threatened. They may be critical of their union and its leaders, and negligent in attending union meetings, but when the test comes the ranks hold firm.

An important lesson of the 1958 fall elections was that labor had been unified and aroused, rather than weakened, by the combined impact of the recession, the public attacks on the labor movement as being racket-ridden, and the threat of restrictive legislation.

Wages are an important factor in security. It has been shown, however, that most workers give priority to the assurance of continued employment. They would rather keep relatively low paying jobs in which the risk of unemployment is lower than take jobs in which risk and pay are high. This is especially true of workers with heavy obligations.

Opportunity

Another deeply felt desire of the workingman is to get ahead, to improve his lot. He wants to be able to advance to a better job in both pay and prestige. He cherishes for his family more privileges, more opportunities.

Labor unions have been able to assist the worker in achieving the goal of opportunity chiefly through the elimination of favoritism. Nearly all labor-management contracts include clauses that greatly minimize the element of whim and chance in the movement of workers from job to job within the plant. Many unions also provide training courses and other experiences through which the workers may fit themselves for better jobs.

The majority of workers believe that advancement is governed chiefly by two factors—quality of work and willingness to work. They also list length of service and co-operation as important elements. Only infrequently do workers say that one has to be a relative of the boss or a friend of the foreman in order to win a promotion.

Surveys show, however, that workers on the whole feel that opportunities for advancement in their present jobs are very limited. They believe that even if they do their work with great zeal and skill, they will not be promoted. A chief complaint of many workers is that their employers do not provide enough opportunities for getting ahead. This frustration is an aggravating factor, sometimes a root cause, in not a few instances of tension and conflict in industrial relations.

Recognition

A third deeply cherished goal of labor is completely noneconomic in nature. It is the worker's aspiration to be counted as part of the production team in industry. The desire to achieve status, to be recognized and appreciated, is one of the most subtle and powerful of human motives.

Relations between labor and management have often been based on the assumption that workers are motivated primarily, if not altogether, by economic interests—wages, side benefits, job security, opportunities for promotion. In its relations with consumers, management has long recognized the importance of sentimental and emotional factors. Long past due in many sections of American industry is the similar consideration of the workingman's need for simple human appreciation.

Well remembered is labor's strong resentment of the early scientific technicians and efficiency experts who looked upon the workers as so many hands and feet to be put through certain prescribed motions. The worker appreciates the training that enables him to do his job more easily and better, but in it all, and above all, he wants to be treated as a human being.

The worker feels that he has much more to contribute to his job than brawn and skills. This lies back of the demand on labor's part for greater participation in industry. A worker may look upon conferences and committees as slow torture, but he deeply wants the recognition that inheres in the right to have some voice in plant policy and operation.

He wants to be counted as a member of the team.

Dignity

A related noneconomic goal is the worker's desire to know the meaning of his job and to feel that his work is important. He wants to know how his particular assignment, whatever it may be, fits into the whole of a worth-while enterprise.

For a workingman to feel that his labor is unimportant, his efforts useless and wasted, is more damaging to self-esteem than almost anything that can happen to him. Hence the bitterness of many unemployed men during the great depression of the thirties who were assigned to insignificant, poorly planned, and badly managed relief jobs. Hence too the growing dissatisfaction of thousands of industrial workers in the inner recesses of huge plants who never see the results of their efforts in the finished products.

A great deal used to be said about the demoralizing effect of the assembly line where a worker performed a single unvaried task all day long, day after day. Repetitive work is now known to be less damaging than many have supposed. Far worse in its effect upon the worker is the feeling that his unexciting assignment is also unimportant.

During the last war, worker morale was greatly stimulated whenever the Government sent men into the plants to explain the purpose and use in the war effort of the things the workers were helping to produce. Alert managers of large plants today are discovering the value of helping workers to understand the place of their jobs in the total enterprise.

There was a time when a craftsman derived great satisfaction from finishing a product and delivering it to a customer. Now very few workmen, no matter how skilled they may be, have anything like that experience. Yet the joy of achievement is close to being an elemental human need.

To have a job with meaning and dignity, so that working brings satisfactions beyond wages, is something every worker wants.

Workers Are Human Beings

There is nothing unique or mysterious about these goals. They are essentially the same as the goals cherished by people in nearly all walks of life. They spring from fundamental human motives, and workers are people.

The "demands" that labor makes in its bargaining sessions with management can be identified in nearly every particular with one or another of the four goals we have previously discussed.

Sometimes local situations lift up other issues. A union leader, for example, may be influenced by personal or institutional motives more than by what the workers really want, or a plant representative may be so negative in his attitude toward organized labor as to distort the whole proceeding. Apart from local deviations, however, the things the workers universally seek to achieve in their dealings with management, the things that make for real satisfaction, may be expressed in the four goals: job security, a chance to advance, recognition as part of the production team, and the feeling that their work is important.

UNITED PRESBYTERIANS AND ORGANIZED LABOR

—A Continuing Confrontation

A nationally known labor official speaking before a great conference of Presbyterian men meeting in Chicago in 1957 found himself facing a hostile audience. His frank criticism of the church and its attitude toward labor unions was greeted with boos and catcalls. In the summer of 1958, a number of Presbyterian women reacted somewhat more courteously but with no less vehemence to a panel on organized labor at the Purdue Assembly. Following the meeting the moderator and the panel members were set upon off stage by a group of angry corporation wives who were incensed that "such a one-sided picture of labor unions" should be presented to Christian women who knew better and whose husbands were having "an awful time with those labor leaders."

NO ONE should be surprised that a large number of United Presbyterian lay men and women look with a jaundiced eye upon the labor unions. Any survey of a typical group of United Presbyterians in a regional gathering or summer conference will reveal that union members are a tiny minority. In most sections of the country, only the Protestant Episcopal Church will show a comparable dearth of industrial workers and craftsmen. Both denominations draw heavily upon the white-collar, suburban middle class. An occupational survey of more than two hundred United Presbyterians in a Christian Education Leadership School in Ohio during the summer of 1958 indicated that the actual majority were professional men or the wives of men who were physicians, lawyers, teachers, corporation managers, engineers.

This is certainly not to say that the United Presbyterian Church is hostile to organized labor. Not only do we have people like John Ramsey of the AFL-CIO, and Mildred Jeffrey, of the UAW, who are at once loyal church members and high-ranking officials in the labor movement, but many other U.P.'s, both clergy and laity, have refused to consign organized labor to the limbo of predestined damnation. What is probably more true is that the socioeconomic status of most Presbyterian laymen and ministers removes them from those experiences in our industrial society which engender a sense of identification with wage earners and their need for collective security.

Our people, for the most part, simply do not know what it means to be a number on a timecard, to work irregularly because of technical layoffs, or to be hounded out of a job

by a foreman who wants to upgrade his wife's cousin. The daily problems and complexities of the industrial world are entirely unfamiliar to them.

THE valiant effort of some presbyteries to get a foothold in the heart of the economically depressed urban industrial areas will not be adequate to change the posture of the United Presbyterian Church. Certainly as more industrial workers are upwardly mobile, moving into suburbia or taking on the social attitudes and aspirations of the older middle class, there will be more awareness in the church of the respectability of industrial work. But it is perhaps more realistic to assume that the United Presbyterian Church will continue, for some time to come, to minister to people whose political, economic, and social norms will be characterized by those of management rather than labor.

The fact that these people are the strong backbone of American culture, that they are free enough from economic worries to engage in sustained study and action for criticism and reform, that they are united in a multitude of voluntary associations for civic betterment and human welfare, makes it of the utmost importance that we continue to confront them with the meaning and objectives of a socially responsible labor movement. They are by no means to be discounted. Indeed no other segment of our society is so fitted materially and intellectually to develop a mature and sophisticated approach to the problems of economic power in technical society which can save both management and labor from ex-

cessive idolatry. The problem we face is how to maintain an encounter between the world of industry and the church. How can we help our people to understand the difficult ethical choices that both labor and management must make and to bring into conversation with them, the cultural analyses and theological insights of responsible Christian laymen?

SINCE 1910 the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church U.S.A. has recognized that organized labor and the problems of industrial relations were of vital concern to the churches. In that year a special committee of the Assembly called for "the application of Christian principles in the conduct of industrial organizations, whether of labor or capital." In 1920 the Assembly recognized the right of workers to organize and to bargain collectively. In 1944 an Advisory Committee created by action of the 154th General Assembly presented a definitive statement on management, labor, and the economic order that has been the official policy of the church since its adoption.

Although this report was made in a day when labor had not yet achieved the organizational unity and economic power that is resident in the AFL-CIO and the great independent unions today, its accents correctly delineate the values of labor organizations and their strategic importance to the life and work of the church.

The following is an excerpt from Section B of the Report dealing with the contributions of organized labor and the response of the Christian church.

1. The labor movement has given the hungry soul a sense of belonging. Man today is in rebellion against the multiplicity of impersonal relationships that our mechanized society forces upon him. The strongest justification of the labor union to the man who works is a spiritual one, namely, the satisfaction that it gives to his deep sense of wanting to belong.

2. The labor union affords a constructive outlet for an individual's resentment against injustice and his demand for fair play. Unemployment, low wages, and bad working conditions not only inflict physical scars, but they also heap spiritual indignity and frustration upon workers as people. Through sharing in his union, the worker is able to give voice to his inner drive for justice.

3. Labor unions have been instrumental in achieving a higher standard of living and in improving working conditions. They have helped to obtain safety and health measures against occupational risk; to achieve a larger degree of protection against child labor; to relieve the disabled, the sick, the unemployed; and to gain a more equitable share in the value of what they produce. These and other gains which labor unions have done much to win have reached far beyond their own membership and have benefited those who have not shared in the activity.

4. At their best, unions have been a primary agent of democracy. Democracy in industry is something other than benevolent paternalism. It concerns the independent status of the individual worker in relation to his employer. The labor union helps to lift this status into the framework of democracy when representatives of labor's own choosing meet with representatives of management's own choosing in reference to matters of mutual concern.

5. Through the labor union, the rich spiritual, intellectual, and social resources latent in those who work become operative in community and nation. With the industrial process increasingly mechanized, and with the opportunity for advancement steadily narrowed, the typical individual worker finds himself frustrated in making his personal contribution to industry and to the community. The labor movement has helped many an individual to find himself

in meaningful co-operation with his fellows. In the opportunity to participate in the life of the labor union, the worker has the chance to develop capacities for leadership, and, thereby, he feels he has more to give as neighbor and as citizen.

The Report continues:

1. We believe the Christian church must confront its members who are employees with their obligation to consider their relationship to a labor union in the light of the Christian principle of social responsibility. We believe industrial relations generally stand a stronger possibility of improvement when management and labor are organized.

2. The church as an institution is an employer of labor and as such is involved in employer-employee relationships, as are philanthropic and humanitarian organizations such as social welfare agencies, hospitals, orphanages, etc. It is, therefore, incumbent upon the church and its agencies, together with other nonprofit organizations, to bring the most enlightened insights and practices to bear upon its relationships with employees.

THERE is no question that this balanced statement is still worthy of study by the laity as a responsible approach to organized labor. The two years that followed its adoption (1946-1947), critical years for industrial relations in the United States, found the General Assembly making strong pronouncements in the field of economic life.

For instance, in 1946 the Assembly declared:

The Christian often becomes aware of the crisis involved in a work stoppage without at the same time being capable of fairly judging the merits of the dispute because of ignorance of important factors. When a strike occurs, Christians should be as sensitive to the sins of omission as to the sins of commission on the part of both labor and management. Because of its refusal to take action on working conditions or wages, management may be more responsible for a strike than the labor union that takes overt strike action. Be-

fore condemning either labor or management for the cause of a strike, Christians are morally obligated to investigate conditions and know the facts.

In 1947 the Assembly said:

The employer today is frequently not an individual in the old sense, but a company or a corporation. Today freedom of association is as crucial as freedom of the individual was in an earlier day. Man, henceforth, will seek security in community. The primary fact about society has always been interdependence. To be specific, the sooner we have in America strong unions which exercise democratic control over their members and are not constantly harassed and made to fight for their lives, the sooner can responsibility be confidently placed upon them and demanded of them.

AFTER a period of comparative silence when notable progress was made in labor-management relations, the Assembly called upon the Department of Social Education and Action again in 1955 to begin studies that would illumine the new role of organized labor in the American economy. It was requested that special consideration be given to:

1. new trends in labor-management relations, guaranteed annual wage, right-to-work laws, automation;
2. national economic policies as related to Southeastern Asia and other less developed regions;
3. farm policies and the use of agricultural surpluses;
4. the conservation of natural resources;
5. the economic and social implications of technological and industrial advances in an age of atomic power.

THE department rendered a progress report on this comprehensive directive in 1956, but the growing problems of racial discrimination and school desegregation had swept all other concerns before it, and the full resources of the department were engaged in calling the church to action in the field of race relations.

IN 1958 the Assembly called upon the department to undertake studies for the guidance of the churches in industrial relations and crime prevention and correction. Accordingly, in co-operation with the Synod of Baltimore, a study commission composed, as in 1942, of representatives of labor, management, consumers, and theologians is meeting in the Baltimore-Washington area to make recommendations that will bring the policy of the church up to date in the field of economic life. Many changes have occurred since the report of the Advisory Committee of 1942. The concern with automation, corruption among some union leaders, the increasing bureaucratization of corporation life, the overarching influence of economic power groups in the American culture, the peaceful uses of atomic energy, are new subjects in the field of economic life and labor-management relations which demand study for the education and action of the church.

DURING recent years the issue of right-to-work laws adopted by some eighteen states has been hotly debated among church people—especially in those states where the matter was made the hue and cry of election campaigns. In July, 1956, the Department of Church and Economic Life of the National Council of Churches presented to the General Board of the National Council of Churches an excellent statement that was considered a fair treatment of the problem by many management as well as labor people. The General Board, after an unprecedented debate, decided neither to approve nor to express disapproval of the state-

ment, but permitted the Division of Christian Life and Work, of which Church and Economic Life is a department, to issue the statement "for study and consideration."

The statement expressed the opinion of the Division of Christian Life and Work that "union membership as a basis of continued employment should be neither required nor forbidden by law." Subsequently, the Department of Social Education and Action in response to increasing inquiries from the churches made a study of past pronouncements of the Presbyterian General Assembly to help clarify what former deliverances have tended to say concerning the issue of union security. Although the matter is not crystal-clear, the department ventures the opinion that the position of the Assemblies which have dealt with this or related issues would place the policy of the Department of Social Education and Action against the right-to-work legislation. It is highly possible, in view of the continued importance of this question that the opinion will be formally rendered to the next General Assembly.

Certainly the General Assembly has consistently upheld the moral right of both management and labor to organize and to bargain collectively.

In 1946 the Assembly reaffirmed its traditional position in "support of collective bargaining" and further declared that "Christian people have an obligation to see that the right to strike is not so limited by legislation that it becomes meaningless."

It is evident that the General Assembly, though recognizing that in some situations union membership

as a basis of continued employment may not be necessary or even desirable, believes that some element of compulsion in a free industrial society is necessary to the interests and welfare of both workers and employers. A misguided individualism would otherwise destroy those very economic and human values which collective bargaining has made possible.

The clear intent of General Assembly has been, therefore, to leave to collective bargaining all issues that can be satisfactorily settled by those means. Union membership as a basis of continued employment is among those issues. The sense and spirit of past pronouncements of this church presume no simple Christian judgment on these problems and therefore would seem to counsel that union membership as a basis of continued employment should be neither required by law nor forbidden by so-called state right-to-work legislation. The question of a union shop or other maintenance of membership arrangements should be left to agreement by labor and management through a process of collective bargaining that meets the basic requirements for responsible and democratic negotiation.

NO REVIEW of the pronouncements of the United Presbyterian Church on organized labor would be complete without reference to the actual programs that these statements have stimulated. Under the aegis of the Board of National Missions and the sponsorship of urban presbyteries a vigorous thrust into the "inner city" has brought a new awareness of the facts of indus-

trial society. In Chicago, Pittsburgh, Detroit, Los Angeles, Kalamazoo, Billings, and even in Osaka, Japan, individual United Presbyterian ministers have maintained a confrontation with trade unions or experimented with ministries to industrial workers. During 1958 many churches across the country took up the program emphasis of "The Social Responsibilities of Christians in Daily Work," which brought workers together to discuss their vocations in industry and its relationship to the mission of the church.

An outstanding program of the church and industry for many years has been conducted by the Presbyterian Institute of Industrial Relations, which began in Manhattan's famous Labor Temple and is now headquartered at McCormick Theological Seminary, in Chicago.

For fourteen years Dean Marshal L. Scott, for the Board of National Missions, has conducted three-week seminars for ministers of industrial communities, introducing the clergy to developments in labor relations, the problems of management, the relationship between Christian faith and life in the great urban industrial areas. For nine years the P.I.I.R. has conducted similar seminars on a three-month basis for theological students. Recently laymen have been exposed to this experience for shorter periods. Hundreds of men and women have now become "alumni" of the P.I.I.R. and together form a significant cadre of people knowledgeable in the field of labor-

management relations for training church members.

DESPITE the strong segment of white-collar, upper-middle-class Christians in the United Presbyterian Church, the outlook of the church through its General Assembly, boards and agencies, and many local judicatories has not been characterized by hostility to the labor movement or apathy about the problems of economic justice. Even when United Presbyterians have reacted unfavorably to educational programs about the church and labor, they have usually been willing to "hear out" the case for labor when they were helped to understand its history and heritage.

The national church itself, through its officers and various staff personnel, has enjoyed good relations with organized labor. Not infrequently have labor leaders found themselves side by side with Presbyterians in the fight for civil rights, better housing, and legislation to improve the economic condition of the workers on farms and in industry. The church will continue to be critical of the excesses of labor leaders and wary of the inordinate power that organized labor has acquired. But the church has placed itself squarely on record for a continual improvement of the conditions of economically exploited peoples and a willingness to work with labor wherever and whenever it is so minded, to make economic justice a reality in American society.

Labor's Problems

WHEN the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations merged in 1955, after 20 years of feuding, there were predictions of fantastic gains in union membership, an end of interunion disputes, a top-to-bottom cleansing of the labor movement, and new benefits for workers with higher standards of living for all Americans. After three years the predictions remain mostly unfulfilled. It is still too early to judge the results of the merger.

The immediate future has some bright aspects for labor. As a result of the 1958 elections, there are more friends of labor in Congress, in governor's chairs, in state legislatures than at any time since the early days of the New Deal. In a political campaign that focused on "union corruption" and "union power," candidates with bad records (by labor's standards) were uniformly defeated, with the single notable exception of Senator Goldwater of Arizona. Right-to-work laws, hated by labor, were deluged in five out of six states. Disclosures of the misdeeds of a few union leaders seemed to have had little effect upon the public's confidence in the labor movement as a whole.

But the future is not entirely rosy. Labor faces some very large and stubborn problems: (1) the mounting resistance of management to further union gains; (2) the continuing necessity of dealing with corruption in labor's ranks; (3) the possibility of restrictive legislation; (4) interunion jurisdictional difficulties; (5) the prospect of a slow draining away of union strength as a result of the new industrial revolution brought about by automation.

Stiffening Resistance

During the past six years, work stoppages due to industrial strife

have amounted to only one fourth of one per cent of available work time. But recent shutdowns in airlines, farm equipment and automobile plants, and in other industries presage a hard time for labor in contract negotiations.

A. H. Raskin, writer on labor topics for *The New York Times*, offers the following diagnosis: "Businessmen reproach themselves for having sunk into what they depict as a state of vassalage to monopolistic unions. They contend that the sole fruit of their past concession has been to whet union appetites for ever-bigger pay rises and for a whittling away of

management's right to manage. They resent the straitjacket effect of industry-wide contract patterns (although they grumble even more if their competitors are allowed more favorable terms)."

Mr. Raskin continues: "The collapse of the drive to outlaw the union shop in industrial states has shattered employers' hopes that they could put the brakes on labor through political action. Moreover, the victory of liberal Democrats and Republicans has convinced many ranking industrialists that both parties are nonunion-dominated. This sense of being political orphans in a laboristic society has strengthened the movement among major employers to find their own salvation by forming united fronts to slug it out with labor at the bargaining table."

An indication of the present mood of conservative industrialists was the recent designation of Mr. Kohler, symbol of antiunionism, as the man of the year by the right wing group of the National Association of Manufacturers.

Contract negotiations between the United Steel Workers and the principal steel companies in mid-1959 will be a major test as to whether there will be conflict or concord on the labor-management front in the period ahead.

Corruption

An important result of the AFL-CIO merger in 1955 was the erection of the Ethical Practices Committee and a stepped-up program to purge the labor movement of corruption. The merged labor forces endorsed Congressional investigations of shenanigans on the part of certain labor

leaders, supported legislation to ban labor dictatorships and to curb unethical handling of union funds (in spite of its fear of government meddling in union affairs), and weakened itself by expelling the Teamsters (its largest group) and other contaminated unions.

In commenting on the work of the AFL-CIO Ethical Practices Committee, Dr. Marshal L. Scott, of the Presbyterian Institute of Industrial Relations, has this to say: "The AFL-CIO has no control over the internal affairs of any union. The AFL-CIO is a federation of national unions exactly as the National Council of Churches is a federation of Protestant denominations. All unions retain zealously their autonomy just as denominations do within the church federation. Mr. Meany, or the executive council of the AFL-CIO, has no more power over any union than Dr. Dahlberg, or the General Board of the National Council of Churches, has over a Methodist district superintendent or an Episcopal bishop. (The exception is a few 'Federal unions' which are chartered directly by the AFL-CIO and would correspond to unattached community churches.) The only power the AFL-CIO has is that of exposure and of expulsion. Under the leadership of Mr. Meany the longshoremen's union was expelled from the AFL, but it still operates independently."

Dr. Scott says further: "As the AFL-CIO attempts to clean house it is caught in a dilemma. To get rid of corruption there has to be more concentration of power at the national level, more power to interfere in the internal affairs of the affiliated union. Yet this concentration of

power is dangerous. It is the old problem of ends and means. The charge frequently has been made, falsely, that the AFL-CIO merger constituted a labor monopoly. At the same time the AFL-CIO is accused of not having enough authority to purge its bad elements. Both can't be true. Many union men are more afraid of giving power to the AFL-CIO than they are of corrupt union officials—especially those unions that have constitutional protections for individual members of the union as many craft unions do have. Hence, the resistance to the Ethical Practices Committee is often not a defense of corruption but a defense of constitutional protections. We would do well to distinguish between the procedural issues and the issue of corruption."

A discerning observer and interpreter of American labor has pointed out that the responsible leaders in the movement were profoundly shocked by the Senate investigating committee's disclosures in 1958 of the size and extent of corruption in certain unions. They know, and we all should know, that only a few unions were affected, that most unions are free from corruption, especially at the national levels. Our observer points out that the churches lost a major opportunity to befriend labor when they did not speak out strongly in behalf of the honesty and integrity of the great majority of the labor leaders of our land who work devotedly for the men they serve and for the common good.

The issue of dereliction in the unions will continue to be an aggravating problem for labor in the years ahead. The service industries

seem to be the most vulnerable to corruption, mostly because of the prevalence of small units and the rapid employee turnover. The record of recent investigations of racketeering in the hotel and restaurant workers unions in Chicago makes instructive reading.

Restrictive Legislation

In the early fall of 1958, possibilities seemed to be high that legislation somewhat unfavorable to labor would be strongly supported in Congress and in a number of states. The right-to-work movement was gaining momentum. Then came the elections. With liberal candidates almost uniformly victorious and with right-to-work laws clobbered in five states, labor emerged in an extraordinarily strong position politically.

It is indicated, however, that the new Congress will have before it several versions of labor legislation designed mainly to curb bossism in labor unions, to protect the public interests in labor disputes affecting such activities as transport and communication, and to eliminate corruption in labor-management relations and in union leadership. It is also probable that in a number of industrial states, legislatures will take action to put union pension funds under some sort of public inspection and control.

For several years there has been an accumulation of state laws restrictive of labor. Right-to-work legislation has been approved in nineteen states—Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Mississippi, Nebraska, Nevada, North Carolina, North Dakota, South Carolina, South Dakota, Ten-

nessee, Texas, Utah, and Virginia. Wherever possible, the friends of labor may be expected to initiate efforts to get these laws, which are actually anti union shop measures, off the books.

Interunion Rivalry

The AFL-CIO merger in 1955 offered no real solution to a basic difficulty—the strong competition between unions organized on the basis of skilled crafts (AFL) and those which include all workers in an industry (CIO). The merger only held forth the hope that formulas would be developed for deciding questions of jurisdiction. The truth seems to be that the boundaries between the two types of unions is more confused, and the solution more remote than ever. This is an intraunion problem capable of arousing more heat than almost any other issue in labor's national conventions.

Technology

Technical advances in American industry, particularly the rapid development of automation, are beginning to result in a shift of emphasis from the hourly-rate workers who are the main strength of the labor unions to college-trained technicians and white-collar workers. A recent AFL-CIO study acknowledges that concepts of labor must be broadened to include many additional categories of workers (such as bookkeepers, laboratory technicians,

dental assistants, library workers). The study recalls that unions strong in other days are now obsolete—wood carvers, table knife grinders, watchcase engravers—and warns present unions against similar decadence. The face of unionism must be considerably altered if it is to succeed in embracing the new hordes of technicians and white-collar workers.

Another threat to labor's numerical (and financial) strength is the shift of an increasing number of industries from the strongly unionized industrial areas of the North to the right-to-work states of the South and Southwest—recalling the transformation of textile and leather centers in New England into ghost cities. Labor's greatest recent disappointment has been the almost complete failure of its ambitious plans of three years ago to unionize the South.

So labor has its problems. But, as Mr. Raskin says, the labor movement was born in adversity. "When the going is toughest, it prospers in the one coin that is important to a union—the allegiance of its members."

Unions are part of the American scene. It would seem to be appropriate for the churches to try to understand the problems and difficulties faced by both labor and management, and to encourage the leaders in both groups to exercise a high sense of social responsibility in seeking solutions that are good for all.

Worship + Resources

A HOUSE SERVICE OF PRAYER AND MEDITATION

—for workers and their families

The Call to Worship God

Let us consider why we are here.

Some of us have worshiped together many times in the sanctuary of a church building. Today we meet in this home surrounded not with stained-glass windows, but with all the ordinary things of a well-lived-in house, with all the weekday neighborhood noises, with children dressed for play rather than for Sunday school.

We have not come here to acquire some unaccustomed piety, to make ourselves uncomfortable about our lack of family prayers, or to depress ourselves about having been too formal and traditional about worship.

We have come rather to remind ourselves again that the church is not a building but a people. We have come to emphasize the common ministry we have in society where mortgages and cost of living statistics, where wages, hours and conditions of work, where strikes and layoffs and all of the myriad problems of justice and human welfare are lineaments of the Kingdom of Christ, whose servants we are. We have come to recall that peculiar vocation we have as workers, appointed to meet God in the places where we live and work and walk—the home, the plant, the public square.

Part of the time while we are here we will read the Bible together and talk about what it says to us concerning our vocation in the home, in labor, and in industry. At other times, as indicated in the order of service, we will pray in unison. There is also a litany for the children to read together. But the heart of our service is our reading of Scripture, alternating with quiet informal conversation about questions that relate to our vocations. Everyone is invited to participate freely, but as leader, I will be obliged to limit the discussion of each question. A few minutes of conversation will certainly be inadequate for these complex problems of discipleship, but a brief exchange will suffice to open up the vistas of faithful obedience we need to explore further. Finally, we will commit ourselves to that end.

In such a way as this then (a way that is different from our usual manner of worship) we will worship God, rendering to him, in this familiar setting, our prayer, adoration, and our minds in a serious encounter with his Word and with one another.

Let us worship God.

Prayers for the Home, Labor, and the Church

LEADER: The Lord be with you.

PEOPLE: *And with thy spirit.*

LEADER: Let us pray.

O God of our homes and our families, hid from our eyes, but known in Jesus of Nazareth whose Incarnate Presence searches for us in the work and worry of the home and the concrete canyons that loom up around us: Forgive our domestic disobedience, our misuse of work and leisure, our nonchalance and apathy. Help us to remember that pointed bricks and paneled cellars can incarcerate those who lose the meaning of their lives in thee. Redeem our drudgery and use our chores redemptively. Help us not to be so extravagant about our comfort here that we do not find restful, thoughtful preparation for what we must do outside. Show us our homes in the world and the world in our homes.

PEOPLE: *Hear us, O Lord, and forgive our sins. Abide in our homes and use them to effect thy will. Make our work at home the agency of thy creation and to the time of our leisure grant the blessing of thy Sabbath rest.*

LEADER: O God of labor and the church, save the church from the piety that runs away from the world and the class consciousness that snubs those who work with their hands at unpopular jobs. Save labor from the secularity which despises religion and from the self-righteousness which scorns those who remain in the institutional church. Help all workers to stand together against the ravages of unemployment and low wages, of insecurity in old age, of racial discrimination and union corruption. Make us sensitive to the needs of the next worker and keep the machine from grinding up our humanity. Help thou the labor movement to be worthy of its heritage.

PEOPLE: *Hear us, O Lord, and forgive our sins.*

LEADER: And we beseech thee, O Lord, that the laity of thy church will be the vanguard of thy redemption of the industrial order. Help them to discover their calling to gossip thy gospel and to make it visible where the assembly lines roll and great factories pour out materials for life. Summon thy church to identity with workers everywhere that justice may prevail and a hungry world be fed with bread for the stomach and bread for the soul.

PEOPLE: *Hear us, O Lord, and forgive our sins. Reconcile our employers, our unions, and our churches and use them to effect thy will. Intrude into the business of our working days with the agenda of thy design and purpose.*

Conversations on the Scripture and Our Life

LEADER: Bless thou, O Lord, this reading of thy Holy Word.

PEOPLE: *And help us to discern its judgment upon us, and help us to speak meaningfully to one another of its counsel for our lives today.*

Let the LEADER read: Gen. 1: 26-31; Gen. 3: 17-19; II Thess. 3: 6-13. Why do we work? What is labor's relation to our sin and to our redemption?

Or as an alternative: Lev. 19: 9-18; James 2: 18-26. What is our responsibility to the neighbor on the job? How can the church and unions work together for society?

Or as an alternative: Isa. 61: 1-4; Luke 4: 16-19. What is the meaning of Christian vocation? How can we learn more about it?

A Prayer for Illumination (in unison)

LEADER: Let us pray.

LEADER AND PEOPLE: Almighty God, who knows how weak we are, how slow to understand the deep things of thy spirit, we have heard thy Word and our words, and we are smitten, not only with our guilt, but with our ignorance. We do not know how to proclaim thy truth without making it our lie. We do not know how to love our brothers without becoming their despots. We do not know how to be faithful without self-justification, how to be redemptive without the power which corrupts and despoils. Increase, we beseech thee, the knowledge of thy Word, of ourselves, and of the intricate, mysterious world in which we live. On the job, in the market place, at the polls, help us to see the issues and make the choices that restore to men the image of thyself, and to our world, the quality of thy Kingdom. Make us aware of the height and the depth of life, of the ultimate questions that will not let us be at ease with easy answers. Make us speak when we have something to say, and shut our mouths when they are filled with trite phrases we have long since emptied of meaning. Help us to pronounce the definite word quite definitely and do the concrete deed quite concretely. Pierce our ignorance with the incisiveness of thy purpose and our confusion with the orderliness of thy command. And grant that in the days to come we will know thy will better and will more faithfully perform it. Through Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen.

A Litany for the Children to Read

LEADER: For home and family, for school, and friends, for being together in thy great family of all colors and languages,

CHILDREN: *We give thee thanks, O Lord.*

LEADER: For father's job and mother's care, for food on the table, a roof overhead, for clothes to wear and books and fun,

CHILDREN: *We give thee thanks, O Lord.*

LEADER: For the streets thy feet tread, for the factories that produce thy wealth, for the settlement houses and hospitals, and orphanages where thy love is pouring out upon children who need it most,

CHILDREN: *We give thee thanks, O Lord.*

LEADER: For all the world with its promises before us, for strength to do and the courage to dare, for thy guiding spirit with us,

CHILDREN: *We give thee thanks, O Lord, and pray thy blessing upon all thy people. Of all the world's needs make us aware and help us to love and to gladly share.*

The Doxology

Benedictus (in unison)

Blessed be the Lord God of Israel; for he hath visited and redeemed his people;

And hath raised up a mighty salvation for us, in the house of his servant David;

As he spake by the mouth of his holy Prophets, which have been since the world began;

That we should be saved from our enemies, and from the hand of all that hate us.

To perform the mercy promised to our forefathers, and to remember his holy covenant;

To perform the oath which he sware to our forefather Abraham, that he would give us;

That we being delivered out of the hand of our enemies might serve him without fear;

In holiness and righteousness before him, all the days of our life.

And thou, child, shalt be called the prophet of the Highest: for thou shalt go before the face of the Lord to prepare his ways;

To give knowledge of salvation unto his people for the remission of their sins,

Through the tender mercy of our God; whereby the day-spring from on high hath visited us;

To give light to them that sit in darkness, and in the shadow of death, and to guide our feet into the way of peace.

—Luke 1: 68-79, from *The Book of Common Prayer*,
Protestant Episcopal Church.

Suggestions for the use of this service may be found in "Program Pointers" on pages 33 and 34.



PROGRAM POINTERS

This new department of *Social Progress* aims to relate the larger controversial issues that disturb mankind (and incidentally the editors) to the life and work of the churches. It will make some modest proposals about the use of *Social Progress* by different persons and groups in the Christian community and present new program resources and guidance. Our concept of "program" goes beyond the events and activities that are included in church calendars or church buildings. It is concerned with strategy and policy matters, as well as with study and analysis.

The current co-ordinated emphasis on "The Social Responsibilities of Christians in Daily Work" suggests some daring and highly significant directions for local congregational life and program planners. It points to some new tasks for the church in contemporary society and a re-direction of its life and work so that the focus is *out* upon the world, rather than *in* upon itself as an institution.

The theme of this issue of *Social Progress* on the labor movement, its history, its goals, and dilemmas, develops an important aspect of Christian responsibility in daily work, and sends the members of the Christian community back into the world where they are to be the church. This issue also points up the need for a deeper understanding of our personal responsibilities and involvement in the economic order, and strongly indicates that we do not know as much as we should about the basic economic issues that affect all human beings in and out of the church. It affirms that this social analysis of man's human predicament ought to infuse our Bible study, that the realities of economics ought to be faced squarely in the church school and in the organizational programs of youth groups, women's associations, and men's councils. It recognizes daily work in the real world as the place where the *laos*, the people of God, must live out the gospel and meet God in faithful obedience wherever he is active in the world.

The program suggestions below point up the co-ordinated emphasis on daily work and the more particular aspects of daily work which concern the labor movement and the church's approach to organized labor.

1959 Essay and Poster Competition

Invitations have been issued to the young people of our churches to submit original essays and drawings (posters, cartoons) on the theme "United Presbyterian Youth Look at Social Responsibility in Daily Life and Work" for a national competition that will extend through the first

six months of 1959. The project was initiated by the Youth Fellowship National Council of The United Presbyterian Church U.S.A., and is sponsored by the Department of Social Education and Action in co-operation with the Department of Youth Program, the Department of Colleges, and the Department of Vocation and In-Service Training. Competition will be within three age

groups: grades 7-9; grades 10-12; and older youth. The purpose of the contest is to provide an opportunity for United Presbyterian youth: (1) to develop a deeper understanding of the meaning of Christian obedience in day-by-day life experiences; and (2) to present constructive thoughts and ideas in a forceful way.

The project emphasizes the dimensions of responsible Christian living. It calls upon the youth of the church to take a look at the problems or situations they encounter at school, in their club or activities program, in recreation, at part-time employment, or in the world of their chosen work. From this point of view participants are encouraged to discover for themselves answers to three questions:

1. How does the gospel of Jesus Christ affect decisions you make, or will make, in these situations?

2. What can you bring into your relations with others as a means of serving God?

3. What can you do to forward the mission of the church—at school, in your club or activities program, in recreation, at part-time employment, in the world of your chosen work?

Related essay themes that give opportunity for expression of answers to these questions are suggested for each age group:

Junior High—"Does the Working World Really Need Me?"; "How My Daily Life Helps Meet the Needs of People Throughout the World"; "What Does Christian Social Responsibility Mean for a Student?"

Senior High—"God Calls—Youth Responds in Service"; "Vocation—Now, Not Just Tomorrow"; "Christian Growth Through Social Responsibility."

Older Youth—"Personal Abilities + World Needs=?"; "My Christian Vocation as a Student"; "How a Christian Can Be a Force in Society Through His Chosen Work."

Young people are encouraged to use their own creativeness in developing themes for the expression of their ideas through posters and cartoons. Winners in each age group will receive national recognition by having their essays and posters published in *Presbyterian Life*, and also by receiving certificates of recognition and selected gifts of literature and art. All poster entries must reach Philadelphia by July 1, 1959.

The current issue of *Our Job* carries an insert entitled "United Presbyterian Youth Look at Social Responsibility in Daily Life and Work," giving full information for young people taking part in the project. Quantities may be secured without charge from your nearest Presbyterian Distribution Service.

We realize that young people will need plenty of adult encouragement and counsel in order to take part in this project. Adult support, and by this we mean more than a paternalistic pat on the shoulder, is essential in local churches as well as in presbyteries and synods.

Use Well Before Filing

The contents of this issue of *SOCIAL PROGRESS* can be used in many ways in local churches, for instance:

1. *Ministers and ruling elders* might use the worship material on pages 28-31 as suggested in the call to worship as a basis for ministering to small groups of workers and their families in the neighborhoods where they live. In this contemporary ver-

sion of the "cottage prayer meeting" the *laos* (ministers and laymen) break out of institutional molds and take the word of God and the fellowship of the *koinōnia* into the homes of persons who may seldom come to church.

The house churches of England and Scotland suggest great possibilities for American Christians to make their lives and daily contacts expressive of the common grace that God wills us to reveal to one another. A particular Presbyterian church family may minister in dozens of neighborly ways to the families on their street not identified with the church.

2. *In meetings of church school teachers* the article "The Labor Saga 1806-1958" on the history of the labor movement could be the basis for some thoughtful probing of the personal attitudes and biases of the teachers, and of their own involvements in economic affairs. There might be some direct "encounter" with the local labor situation by meeting with one or two labor leaders. Central labor councils or state offices of AFL-CIO are anxious for opportunities to know Protestant church leaders, and will provide skillful speakers and discussion leaders. Such firsthand contacts with people in organized labor are particularly needed in suburban churches where our members are almost always "management minded."

Copies of this issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS might be purchased by the session and mailed to labor leaders in the community with some explanation that the church is aware of labor's objectives and joins with labor in seeking community improvement.

3. *In church officers' training meetings*, discuss the article on goals with these questions in mind

- Is management creating a class society?

- What should be the church's approach to labor?

4. *Women's groups* need to face the changes that have taken place in the lives of women in the last decade. What about working mothers? What changes are needed in women's associations to reach the increasing numbers of employed women? What are women's circles doing to understand the conflicts and tensions working women face? Discuss from the Christian viewpoint the merit of three views toward working mothers. (a) "Except for economic necessity, they should never work"; (b) "A mother should work if that is what she wants to do"; (c) "Whether a mother should or should not work depends on the circumstances in each case."

- From one's own personal and family experiences, what are some of the causes or reasons for the "desire for more material amenities than the (one-income) family would otherwise afford"? What Christian teaching or discipline is useful in working out a "Christian" standard of living in our economy of relative abundance and super sales pressures?

- Apart from economic necessity and the provision for added material benefits, are there other values in the two-income family?

5. Books reviewed in this issue should be considered for the church library. Attention might be drawn to new titles in bulletin board announcements or by short reviews in the weekly church bulletin.

WHAT'S HAPPENING



In the Churches

Not for sale—We believe in democracy.

These words appeared on signs posted on houses along Thurston Street, Borough of Queens, New York, following the location of a Negro family in that heretofore white section of the community.

Residents of the street responding to the leadership of a city agency—the Commission on Intergroup Relations—and to a Neighborhood Relations Committee, co-chaired by Rev. David S. Sheldon, pastor, Springfield Garden Church, Springfield, New York, refused to panic, but, rather, chose to responsibly meet the problems of becoming a racially integrated community.

As reported in *The New York Times* (November 22, 1958), residents of the area adjacent to Thurston Street stated that in the "last few years, just about every spring and fall, real estate dealers—from outside the area—have attempted so-called block-busting. One house would be sold to Negroes and the block would be inundated by agents swarming from cars, making telephone calls, and spreading circulars. They said that they had cash offers for a house, that other residents were selling out, and that the block was becoming all-Negro." These tactics usually result in white people fleeing and the area becoming all-

Negro. The Thurston Street approach brought into being an entirely different result.

The efforts of Mr. Sheldon remind us once again that throughout the nation United Presbyterians are taking their places with others at the forefront of the struggle for freedom and human rights.

The Presbytery of Detroit approves use of Open Occupancy Covenant. Rev. M. Sylvester reports that the following resolution was adopted: (1) that presbytery endorse deliverances of the 168th General Assembly on racial and cultural relations; (2) that presbytery approve use of Open Occupancy Covenants by individual churches of the presbytery; (3) that presbytery ask each session to: (a) consider endorsing deliverances of the 168th General Assembly, referred to above; (b) consider approving the Covenant; (c) consider asking individual members to sign the Covenant; (d) consider a progress report to presbytery by June 1, 1959.

A fifty-minute panel presentation of "Residential Desegregation—The Church's New Frontier" by presbytery's SEA committee reviewed the issue before voting took place.

The Detroit Presbyterian Society voted to support presbytery's action.

Local church strategy was highlighted at an SEA Workshop conducted by the Presbytery of San Francisco. As an example of what a local church could do there was a "ballot briefing" on current election issues, and a debate on right-to-work laws by capable exponents of each position.

Pittsburgh (Pa.) United Presbyterians were watching with keen interest when Pittsburgh City Council recently considered and passed a Fair Housing Practices Ordinance. They had a large part in bringing it about, and it was a dramatic demonstration of the force of the church in changing established community patterns.

The ordinance makes it illegal for any property owner, real estate broker or salesman to deny or withhold any housing unit because of race, religion, ancestry, or national origin.

Other sections prohibit lending institutions from discriminating in loans for mortgages or home repairs, and directs that advertising shall not imply these types of discrimination.

The behind-the-scenes story of the successful passage of this much-needed legislation involves the courageous and forthright leadership of the Presbytery of Pittsburgh and its strategically planned program of action directed by the capable and dynamic executive secretary of the presbytery's Council of Industrial and Interracial Relations—Mrs. Marguerite I. Hofer.

Mrs. Hofer spearheaded the for-

mation of the Allegheny County Committee for Fair Housing Practices, which successfully sponsored the legislation. The Committee was composed of eleven community agencies.

It is significant to observe that through the faithful witness of the Presbytery of Pittsburgh and the inspired representation by Mrs. Hofer the church was there.

Here is a new SEA twist to the student exchange program. Sixty-five Negro families of New York City entertained in their homes one hundred fifteen students from twenty-five countries in a new approach to achieving greater understanding among peoples of the world.

The project was organized as part of the fifth annual Harlem International Day sponsored by the Presbyterian Church of the Master and Negro sororities and fraternities of New York City. Rev. James H. Robinson is pastor of the sponsoring church.

A panel discussion on the "Progress of the American Negro" and a message by Mr. Robinson preceded the home visitations when the students had a taste of American cooking and exchanged ideas.

The SEA Committee of the Presbytery of Cimarron made a study of laws on divorce and remarriage and also surveyed the pastors concerning their practices relative to the marriage of divorced persons. Rev. Arlen L. Fowler, Guthrie, Oklahoma, directed the study.

Try these on for size! Two excellent ideas come from First Church, Elmhurst, Illinois, where Rev. Clare E. Tallman is pastor.

The first idea is built around copies of the social deliverances of the General Assembly, which are sent to each family in the church. Then an "IQ" test is given in each issue of the church newspaper on the stand of the United Presbyterian Church on various social issues. Page numbers are given at the end of the test for answers in the family copy of the deliverances.

Perhaps we can be forgiven for hoping that the second idea would be followed by every church, for provision has been made to have a study group meet once a month devoting the entire time to the current issue of **SOCIAL PROGRESS!**

Awards were made recently to winning participants in the 1958 Essay and Poster Competition for Youth, which was conducted by the former United Presbyterian Church of North America.

Participants had the privilege of selecting any social issue as a subject for either an essay or poster. The competition provided the opportunity for real study by young people in an area of social education—study which had as one result a creative work, either literary or artistic.

The competition was carried on within three age groups: 12-14 years; 15-17 years; and 18-25 years. Separate awards were made for essays and posters in each age group. Cash awards in the following

amounts were made: First place, \$15.00; second place, \$10.00; third place, \$5.00; fourth through tenth places, \$2.00 each.

The following entrants in the essay competition received awards. They are listed in the order of recognition:

12-14 age group—Mary Etta Scott, Burgettstown, Pa.; Phillis Hall, Knoxville, Tenn.; Juanita Galloway, Knoxville, Tenn.; Gaye Stover, Arkansas City, Kans.; Brian Butler, St. Louis, Mo.; Margaret McAuley, St. Louis, Mo.; Lois Gaul, Philadelphia, Pa.; Ann Rehmeier, Stewartstown, Pa.; Ruth Miller, Lincoln, Nebr.; Linda Keller, Olympia, Wash.

15-17 age group—Patricia Weir, Argyle, N.Y.; Robert Patterson, Jr., Annemarie, Ala.; Lona Grim, Red Lion, Pa.; David Ray Wright, Hammond, Ind.; Carol Joanne Saurer, Barbarton, Ohio; Norma Jones, Burgettstown, Pa.; Thomas Murdock, Argyle, N.Y.; Peggy Ann Fowler, Knoxville, Tenn.; Mary Ann Moll Cage, Tonawanda, N.Y.; Judy Pauls, Topeka, Kans.

18-25 age group—Tommy McKown, Topeka, Kans.; Pearl Stevens, Burgettstown, Pa.; Bennie Battle, Knoxville, Tenn.; Tommy Jordan, Los Angeles, Calif.; John Reuben, Knoxville, Tenn.

Poster competition awards were presented to:

12-14 age group—Sharron Bedford, Rock Island, Ill.; Robert Welfer, Moline, Ill.; Betty King, Glenshaw, Pa.; Robert Wood, Struthers, Ohio; Glenda Hanlon, Wichita, Kans.; Lorraine Jackson, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Jeanne Lokar, Allison Park, Pa.; Susan Colello, Hamburg, N.Y.; Hobart Ammerman, Arkansas City, Kans.; Elva Noshay, Hamburg, N.Y.

15-17 age group—Jane Thompson, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Robert Loos, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Ruth Ann May, Waterloo, Iowa; Fred Newton, Columbus, Ohio; Curtis Latshaw, Elwood City, Pa.

18-25 age group—Judy Core, Portland, Ore.; Barbara Meyers, Waterloo, Iowa.

In Washington



With an economy-minded Republican President in the White House and a new Congress top-heavy with Democrats, many of whom consider the November election a mandate for more liberal legislation, this first session of the 86th Congress may well be an explosive one.

Fiscal matters will loom large in the Congressional program. The President's unprecedented early announcement of a balanced budget at a lowered figure of \$77 billion is attacked as unrealistic and as a political maneuver to put the Democrats on the spot. Clamor among many members for greater defense spending and accompanying warnings of inflationary dangers will precipitate one of the major controversies of the session. This "battle of the budget" involves not only a contest over specific legislation but a basic clash of economic and political philosophy. Although the Democrats have whopping majorities in both Houses, it remains to be seen whether they can muster the necessary two thirds to override possible Presidential vetoes.

The agricultural program is also high on the list of problems to be considered. Farm expenditures in 1958 were almost \$2 billion above the budget estimate of \$5 billion. With fewer farmers and the lowest acreage in forty years the 1958 harvest was the largest on record. Surplus storage costs alone for 1958 were \$400 million. The Administration contends that basic changes in legislation are needed to meet this problem.

Aid to less-developed countries will also be a major concern. With the Soviet economic offensive in high gear, there are some indications that the White House will request an increase in funds for economic aid and technical assistance. In late summer, eight members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee wrote to the President expressing deep concern over the "serious distortion" in the foreign aid program in favor of military aid. Secretary Dulles said in November, "There is little doubt but what, as an abstract proposition, too much throughout the world is spent on military aid and not enough on economic."

Other matters high on the Congressional agenda are an investigation of our progress in defense and space programs, a comprehensive housing bill, a new depressed-areas aid bill, labor legislation along the lines of last session's Kennedy-Ives bill, stepped-up reclamation measures, school construction aid proposals, and renewal of the military draft law, which expires in June.

While the Administration has "operated" with considerable skill in the opening days of this Congress, it is evident that two figures will dominate this session as they did the last, Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson (D., Tex.) in the Senate, and Speaker Sam Rayburn (D., Tex.) in the House. Their "moderate" counsel will vitally influence all proceedings.

—Helen Lineweaver
Washington Office

About Books

Social Responsibilities of Organized Labor, by John A. Fitch. Harper & Brothers, 1957. 237 pp. with index. \$3.50.

This important book is the latest volume in a study of Christian ethics and economic life—a project of the Department of the Church and Economic Life of the National Council of Churches.

The impressively representative study committee with which Dr. Fitch worked in preparing this volume is chaired by Charles P. Taft, a leader in public life and presently mayor of Cincinnati.

A listing of some of the chapter heads suggests the range of the book: The Essential Nature of Trade Unionism; Union Objectives; Collective Bargaining; Nonbargaining Functions of Unions; Inter-Union Relations; Unions and Management; Organized Labor and the Public; Malpractice in Unions. A section of supplementary notes discusses a number of topics of current public interest.

Dr. Fitch has taught at the New York School of Social Work, the Graduate School of Business of Columbia University, and the School of Industrial and Labor Relations of Cornell University. He has written other useful books in the area of concern.

It is this commentator's judgment

that *Social Responsibilities of Organized Labor*, a pioneering study bearing upon one of the country's pressing issues, is must reading for (1) people connected with the labor movement and (2) all who should have a sound "working knowledge" of organized labor, and that includes everyone in public or semipublic life.

Dictionary of Personnel and Industrial Relations, by Esther R. Becker. Philosophical Library, Inc., 1958. 366 pp. \$10.00.

In approximately 2,500 entries with 500 cross references, this timely resource book presents brief "working definitions" of terms and phrases relating to industrial relations practices, management methods and techniques, trends in training, labor legislation, union activities, personnel relationships, collective bargaining.

Included are lists of personnel and industrial relations associations, publications dealing with labor and personnel relations, colleges doing research and offering courses in these areas. Thumbnail biographical sketches are given of past and present leaders in the broad field of industrial relations and trade union activities. There are also brief historical notes on the principal labor groups and industrial associations.

The result is something between a dictionary and an encyclopedia.

This reviewer feels that though some of the "definitions" are a little too neat and nice to be exactly right, the book fills a need and should be useful to ministers and other leaders in churches serving industrial communities.

Christians and the State, by John C. Bennett. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958. 302 pp. with index. \$4.50.

Any minister or layman who is at all interested in current knotty problems of church-state, Christian-politics, Roman Catholic-Protestant, theology-social ethics dilemmas had better buy, borrow, or beg this book. Unless, of course, he has read more widely and absorbed more thoroughly from the multitude of sources than has John Bennett, which is doubtful.

Bennett will never be a profound theologian, and it is for the best. His common sense, his humility, his capacity for simplicity of language and organization, his respect for diversity of evidence and situation, and withal his clarity and genuine piety, enable him to make a unique and invaluable contribution to Protestant theology and ethics. He has forgotten more than most of us will ever know, and his reading ranges from Augustine, Luther, Calvin, Barth, Bonhoeffer, and Oscar Cullmann to Jefferson, Holmes, Lippmann, Herberg, Hook, and Senator McCarthy. *Christians and the State* deals with three large problems and their subdivisions. Part One, "Christian Faith in a Religiously Pluralistic Society," is a competent analysis of our contemporary dilemma as Christians sharing a moral consensus with

non-Christian Americans. Part Two, "Christian Understanding of the State and Its Functions," is a distillation of historical Christian philosophies of the nature of the state. And Part Three, "Church and State," deals with eminently practical problems such as released-time religious education and bus transportation for parochial students, civil liberties, race relations, and direct vs. indirect church efforts to influence government policy.

More Christians, especially clergymen, tend to look foolish in public every time they open their mouths or lift a pen in this swamp of church-state relations than in any other area of our common life. Bennett's book is an excellent antidote to this too-frequent tendency toward foolishness in a field of crucial contemporary importance. It is also a positive guide to practical action and speaking. And it fulfills one of the prime prerequisites of usefulness—it is interesting and readable. An excellent index enhances its value.

The Protestant and Politics, by William Lee Miller. The Westminster Press, 1958. 92 pp. \$1.00.

Again, the minister or layman concerned with practical problems of participation in contemporary American life (and he'd better be), ought to get his hands on *The Protestant and Politics* and keep it with Bennett's book after he's read both.

This slim volume in the Layman's Theological Library packs more sound analysis, wise counsel, and pithy comment about the political involvements of Christians today than any other current effort—and there have been many. For the min-

ister, its grist for the sermon mill alone is worth twice the price. Examples: "One of the most troublesome habits of religious people is that they tend to become very interested in religion" (p. 26). "No instrument of the devil has been more effective than the identification of Christianity with the ideas of the people on the right side of the tracks" (p. 28). "It is a little hard to believe, in the age of the ICBM, that elections should turn on the question of parochial school buses" (p. 32). "The cliché, 'I vote for the man,' is often uttered . . . as though this made the speaker morally better than partisan folk" (p. 35). "In a sense . . . parliamentary democracy is founded on the 'forgiveness of sins'" (p. 49). "Actually, the problem of justice is always obtaining justice for 'bad' people . . ." (p. 54). And so on and on.

Miller's treatise seeks to find the relationship of such Christian categories as grace, forgiveness, and above all the love of God in Jesus Christ to the ambiguous realities of party politics, political compromise, legislation, policy formation. It succeeds remarkably well. More important, it suggests ways in which Protestants and churches can participate effectively (they cannot avoid participation of some kind) without seriously damaging either the faith or the political processes. Such guidance is desperately needed today.

South Town, by Lorenz Graham. Follett Publishing Company, 1958. 191 pp. \$3.50.

SOCIAL PROGRESS seldom reviews novels. This is an unusual one, however, and should be called to the

attention of high school youth, church school teachers, and a whole segment of American society that badly needs an authentic view of that portion of Negro-white relations in the South which escapes public attention today.

Here is a story as dramatic as Richard Wright's novels, but without his bitterness and without the degradation and amorality he portrays. Its Negro characters are, for the most part, believably normal. They love their wives and feel responsible for their children. Its white characters are all essentially decent people with varying degrees of compassion and perceptivity. Its "villain" can be found in almost any church and chamber of commerce in any "south town" (or, with a few external alterations, any "north town").

And yet, the sequence of events, revolving around a few families in otherwise insignificant roles, moves through home, church, work, play to lay bare the human consequences of a sick society whose benevolence masks injustice. Its climax is a smashing clash of violence, tragedy, and hope.

The author is a Negro, son of a minister, unencumbered by pious views or pious words. He writes with great perceptiveness and in a way that makes the reader unconscious of his style. An example is this brief conversation between a Negro boy and a white physician:

"David spoke up asking a question long in his mind. 'Dr. Anderson,' he said, 'could you tell us what they mean by our place? What do they want us to do?'"

"Dr. Anderson smiled as he tried to answer. 'That's a good question,

but see this, David. You recognize yourself as a boy, and you don't try to set your strength or your ideas against those of your father who is a man, do you?' David agreed and Dr. Anderson went on. 'So your father has a place which is really above yours and your father might be annoyed if you wanted to act as a man. Now haven't you heard white people speak of colored men as boys and of colored women as girls? This is the place for colored people. They should occupy in society the place of children, not voting, not knowing too much or owning too much. They should be obedient and satisfied and they should above all be respectful toward white people.'"

The Affluent Society, by John Kenneth Galbraith. Houghton Mifflin Company, 1958. 368 pp. \$5.00.

Readable, witty, and free swinging is this book by a professor of economics at Harvard University. Conservatives and liberals alike will find some things to criticize in the author's analysis of inflation and price-fixing and wage-fixing powers of great industries and labor unions, and his daring new thesis that our

present drive for more and more production actually creates problems instead of solving them. Mr. Galbraith is, of course, taking issue with many other economists who have held that we can and must maintain our high production of goods and correspondingly high consumption without getting into such problems as inflation, monetary instability, and what the author calls social unbalance.

The author is all for relaxing the drive to beat last year's production records, and even boldly suggests that we ought to investigate the merits of a little idleness, even featherbedding now and then.

Ministers in industrial urban areas will have to read this book because lots of their parishioners will do so. Despite the allegation that the average businessman rarely reads a book, there is a good deal of evidence from book sales that here is something he will buy and not be able to put down.

Along with such volumes as *The Organization Man*, church officers should be reading Mr. Galbraith and pondering the author's distinctions between wants and genuine needs, and the implied warning that goods do not necessarily make the good life.

Of the more than 60 million gainfully employed persons in the United States, something like 36 million are in jobs benefited by contract negotiations between representatives of organized labor and management. Only half these workers, about 18 million, are dues-paying members of labor unions.

Considering the proportion of United Presbyterian church membership in the national population, a ratio of about 1 to 60, dare we suppose that $\frac{1}{2}$ of 1 per cent of the nation's union members, or 90,000 persons, are United Presbyterians? This number would constitute approximately 3 per cent of our church's constituency.



Echoes



Dear Sir:

In its habitual manner the Department of Social Education and Action has produced another top-notch issue of *SOCIAL PROGRESS*. I enjoyed every minute of work on my small part in the "World Roundup" [October, 1958]. The way in which you assembled the material makes it good reading—and especially interesting because one can compare the situation in the different parts of the world, point by point.

—*Mrs. Edward J. Fisher*
Central Brazil Mission
São Paulo, Brazil

Dear Sir:

A note to say that the January issue of *SOCIAL PROGRESS* ["The Welfare of the Nations"] has just arrived and that I should like to thank you most heartily for it. You have done me a great honor to include so much of my attempt on the question of ethical problems in technical assistance. The other articles in the issue are indeed excellent. If you get any reactions to all of this we should be glad to have them.

—*Robert S. Bilheimer*
World Council of Churches
Geneva, Switzerland

Dear Sir:

Congratulations on the March issue of *SOCIAL PROGRESS*!

I loved the eloquence of the car-

toon on page 26. It started a chain of thinking for me! The chairman is just as guilty of gross negligence as the absent members of the committee. When I saw the clock said 8:15, already, yet, I got steamed up. No SEA committee chairman has any business being that patient!

I think your "Primer on Social Action in the Local Church" ought to prod him to make a few fiery telephone calls and at least get the committee there. Besides that it should give the committee something to go on after they get there!

—*Mrs. Ralph H. Woolsey*
Oelwein, Iowa

Dear Sir:

The occasional cartoon on the back of *SOCIAL PROGRESS* is one of the greatest tributes to the graphic arts that I know. Here's one nomination for a regular feature section.

—*Rev. Robert L. Jansen*
Tucson, Arizona

Dear Sir:

This March, 1958, issue of *SOCIAL PROGRESS* is the meat I have been waiting for for a long time. I thank you, and my session thanks you for the wonderful job you have done in this issue. I believe that now we can finally get down to business. God bless you all and keep on writing!

—*Rev. William G. Kaiser*
Morrill, Nebraska

Dear Sir:

The recent issues of SOCIAL PROGRESS have caught my attention. Not long ago I started a group subscription to it for our elders, deacons, trustees, and SEA committee members. All of them have found the magazine articles a real challenge to their thinking.

The March issue, "Start Where You Are," is the best yet for showing the layman "what it's all about."

—*Rev. Joe David Ruffin*
Denton, Texas

Dear Sir:

I have just seen the copy of SOCIAL PROGRESS dealing with "The Areas of Rapid Change" [February, 1958]. It is extremely well done and we send you congratulations.

Can you let me have twenty-five copies of this number? Thanks very much.

—*Rev. Paul R. Abrecht*
World Council of Churches
Geneva, Switzerland

Dear Sir:

The April issue ["The Social Responsibilities of Christians in Daily Work"] is excellent, so much so that I feel foolish in bringing up my question. In the program suggestions no questions were raised about the ethics of seeking and/or receiving Government help, subsidies, tariff protection, and such. Lobbying, political contributions, special benefits, appear to be major pursuits of an organizationally minded society. I mention this particular aspect because I note that agricultural industry has been omitted from this program, among other groups.

Thank you for the splendid work

you all are doing in informing us of the sea around us.

—*Rev. James A. Glass*
Lost Nation, Iowa

Dear Sir:

Just a note to commend you and your staff for a most interesting issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS.

The March issue was so very readable that I read or carefully scanned the entire issue after looking at page four and one or two chapter title pages. We would like to have fifty copies at the quantity price for selective use.

—*Dr. Alfred S. Kramer*
National Council of Churches
New York, New York

Dear Sir:

I had the pleasure of reading your report on the Arab refugees in Lebanon in the recent issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS [October, 1958]. I thought it was a good issue and you, I am sure, will receive excellent comments throughout the country because of its frank and honest appraisal of America's present political situation. . .

I wonder, however, why you did not point out that although their physical situation is admittedly bad, the situation of Fellahin throughout the Middle East living outside the refugee camp is even worse. If there is a waiting line for medical attention in the refugee camps, there is no clinic or medical attention at all in too many of the Arab villages outside the camps. That is, I think you overplayed the sad physical situation of the refugees in contrast to the realistic condition of Arabs throughout the Middle East.

In my judgment too, you also failed to deal with the evident contradiction between the refugees' demand for action "to persuade Israel to accept them without condition and to reinstate them on the lands which they left in Palestine" and their "overarching desire [to see] the absolute destruction of the State of Israel."

—*Arthur Gilbert*
Anti-Defamation League
New York, New York

Dear Sir:

I have been reading over lately some of the recent issues of SOCIAL PROGRESS and continue to marvel at the very skillful and helpful way in which the issues are presented for the reader in this monthly edition.

Would it be possible for me to have six copies of your issue of June, 1958, which features "A Primer on International Affairs"?

—*Russell Stevenson*
Church World Service
New York, New York

Dear Sir:

Please accept my congratulations and thanks for the excellent number of SOCIAL PROGRESS that you have just released. I am referring to the July, 1958, issue, which is given to the social deliverances of the General Assembly.

It is a real service to the church to have this compilation in such a handy form available for mass distribution. You may rest assured that we will put it to good use here at McCormick and in our work in Chicago and in the local presbytery.

—*Charles G. Chakerian*
McCormick Theological Seminary
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Sir:

I was very much interested in reading the September issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS ["Residential Desegregation—The Church's New Frontier"] and would like to have five additional copies. I do hope that you will try to continue building up new material in this very important field. It is one of the greatest challenges confronting the people in the different churches at the present time. I am very anxious to know more about what you are doing in this field. I have been struggling with it for some time.

We have a project in Lackawanna, New York, in which we are joining with all the other churches. This is one of our objectives.

—*Rt. Rev. Msgr. John O'Grady*
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:

I am, perhaps understandably, particularly impressed by the breadth of the scope of the issue of October, 1958, "World Roundup."

Actually, this represents some of the finest interpretation of Ecumenical Mission and Relations which I have seen. Here, as we have hoped might be widely done in our own church, you are bringing to the attention of our colleagues in the church insights on major issues in Christian thought and action from the scene of the encounter on many fronts. There is reason to think that this may be one of the most memorable issues you have done. I congratulate you sincerely and warmly.

—*John C. Corbin*
Commission on Ecumenical
Mission and Relations
New York, New York

Dear Sir:

This November issue! And your reference to a "separating of the men from the boys" reminds one that there are still some qualities in the boy that should not be entirely lost: warmth, understanding, simplicity, enthusiasm, qualities which seem at a minimum in this issue.

Sunday evenings I've had a group in our small (206 member) church studying SOCIAL PROGRESS and related themes. But this last one! Even though we do have a few college grads in the group there isn't much in this issue, if anything, that I can use. And most of those attending are, at least among the older folk, not high school grads.

I'd been thinking of urging lay subscriptions. But the October one wasn't too good, and now comes this one. Wow! I will make reference file notes on the first and last article, but even these are so wordy, and the whole issue gives one the feeling of being long and involved, and, on finishing, the feeling, "So what?"

With appreciation of the people, and the hope that such professorial articles may be relegated to the minister's theological reviews.

—*Rev. Gerald Emerson*
Newberg, Oregon

Dear Sir:

Each time that I receive SOCIAL PROGRESS I am thrilled with the material—the research, the fair approach, the Christian approach.

Purdue provided an experience that comes once in a lifetime. Much of it still rings in my ears. I understand that at some time in the not too distant future you are planning an issue on labor. I am looking forward to this, and I think that I speak for many who hope that you will include all that you can possibly tell us about Walter Reuther. Granted that the papers do not always tell all of the story, and granted that there was much to improve in the attitudes of management, I still cannot from all that I read see Mr. Reuther with approval.

I am sure that there are many dedicated Christians everywhere who want all the help possible in thinking through the problems of labor. Since you present all angles I am sure that you will speak out for both sides—management and labor—the Christian attitude of each. I am looking forward to that issue.

Your panel on labor at Purdue was an excellent one.

—*Mrs. Edwin J. King*
Kansas City, Kansas

NOTE: We are a bit disturbed that everyone seems to like us these days. Maybe we are losing our grip or letting fifty years of "progress" slow us down. This new section we hope will reflect the views of our readers and give them a chance to talk back.—*The Editors.*

...EVENTS.....

A listing of important events in which the program of the Department of Social Education and Action is developed and implemented.

Synods, presbyteries, presbyterials, youth groups, men's groups, etc., are invited to use this column to list SEA events.

To list dates or to secure information concerning any date or emphasis listed, except as otherwise directed, write to: Events, Department of Social Education and Action, Board of Christian Education, The United Presbyterian Church U.S.A., 830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pa.

February

- 2-3 SEA Counseling Committee, Philadelphia, Pa.
- 3-4 Legislative Seminar, Carson City, Nev., sponsored by Nevada Council of Churches
- 3-5 Annual Seminar on the Christian Farmer and His Government, Washington, D.C.
- 3-6 Annual Churchmen's Washington Seminar, Washington, D.C.
- 8 Race Relations Sunday
(Also: Write to Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, National Council of Churches, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y.)
- 15-22 Brotherhood Week
(Also: Write to National Conference of Christians and Jews, 43 West 57th Street, New York 19, N. Y.)
- 23-24 SEA Section, United Christian Education Institute, Ohio Synod
- 23-27 SEA staff visitation to New England Synod
- 25 to March 5 Advanced Term, Presbyterian Institute of Industrial Relations, McCormick Seminary, Chicago, Ill.
- 26-27 SEA Section, United Christian Education Institute, Michigan Synod, Lansing, Mich.
- 27 Committee of Eighteen, New York, N. Y.

March

- 2-3 SEA Section, Church Officer Training Seminar, Indiana, Pa.
- 4-5 Retreat for Denominational Secretaries, Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, National Council of Churches, Seabury House, Greenwich, Conn.
- 23-24 SEA Section, United Christian Education Institute, Louisville, Ky.
- 28-30 SEA Section, Church Officer Training Seminar, Storm Lake, Iowa
- 29 Easter
- 30 to April 16 Regular session for ministers, Presbyterian Institute of Industrial Relations, McCormick Seminary, Chicago, Ill.



MAN'S DAILY NEEDS

in the context of his ultimate need
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scales of justice, the loaves and
fishes of daily sustenance, the
alpha and omega of the Word—
all in the light of the cross.

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